

POL
7-1-68

27 - 14

BIAFRA - NIGERIA

STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

☐ Retain classification ☐ Change/classify to _____

☒ Declassify with concurrence of _____

EO 12958, 25X

FPC/HDR by 77 Date: 3/7/96

Withdrawal No. _____

0247

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND959503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

37

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TOCONFIDENTIAL
Classification

BP

212701

FOR OC/T USE ONLY

31 JUL 68 22 35z

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

Info:

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS

Amembassy MOGADISCIO

STATE

LIMDIS

Please deliver following message to Ethiopian Foreign Minister from the Secretary (if Ketema has not yet returned to Addis, you should in the meantime deliver copy to the Prime Minister's office for his information):

Dear Mr. Minister: I have read Ambassador Hall's report of his conversation of July 29 with HIM regarding the forthcoming negotiations in Addis Ababa between the parties to the Nigerian conflict. My Government shares the hopes and concerns expressed by HIM and wishes to support, in any appropriate way, his efforts and those of the OAU Consultative Committee to end the human suffering and strife in Nigeria. Ambassador Hall will give you the text of my statement which I made today in my press conference, making clear our strong support for this OAU peace initiative.

I am heartened by the improved situation in your own region of Africa. I know that there are still important problems, but I know that your government will make every effort to consolidate and extend the gains that have

Drafted by:

AF: Palmer2nd

Clearances:

7/31/68

Tel. Ext.

5888

5374

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

AR

The Secretary

S/S - Mr. Shepard

CONFIDENTIAL

Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

0248

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VIND 954563
By MVA Date 10/5/02

Page 2 of telegram to ADDIS ABABA INFO: LAGOS, MOGADISCIO

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

been made. With wisdom, foresight, and a recognition of urgency on all sides, I am sure that your goal of stability in this region can be attained.

END

RUSK

FORM DS-322A
8-63
CONTINUATION SHEET

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

0249

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 950/503
By MW Date 10/5/02



POL 27 BIAFRA- NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 921

PAGE 01 ADDIS 04935 311158Z

53
ACTION AF 15

INFO NSA 02 CIAE 00 DODE 00 GPM 04 H 02 INR 07 L 03 NSC 10 P 04
RSC 01 SP 02 SS 20 USIA 12 SA 01 SAH 02 SR 01 ORM 03 AID 28
PC 04 RSR 01 TO 13 / 135 W

R 311000Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6412
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 4935

1. ZAMBIAN AMB MUTTI SPOKE TO ME AT LENGTH
YESTERDAY ABOUT HIS CONCERN THAT NIGERIAN SITUATION WAS:

DEVELOPING IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD MORALLY STRENGTHEN
EXISTING REGIMES IN SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA IN THEIR
SUPPRESSION OF WEAKER BLACK POPULATIONS OF THOSE COUNTRIES.
HE DREW AN ANALOGY BETWEEN WHITE RULING CLASSES' SUPPRESSION
OF BLACK AND NIGERIAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT'S SUPPRESSION
OF IBOS. HE CONCLUDED NIGERIAN GOVT HAD ABANDONED ANY
EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE WITH IBOS AND WOULD NOW SUPPRESS THEM
BY FORCE. IF AS HE ASSUMED ADDIS TALKS FAILED DUE TO NIGERIAN
GOVT'S MILITARY ACTION, OAU WOULD BE GREATLY WEAKENED
AND ITS MORAL AUTHORITY NEARLY DESTROYED.

2. HE CONCEDED COL. OJUKWU HAD MADE NEGOTIATIONS NEARLY
IMPOSSIBLE BUT NEVERTHELESS NIGERIAN GOVT AS THE STRONGER
PARTY HAD FAILED IN ITS MORAL RESPONSIBILITY TO SEEK AGREEMENT
WITH IBOS.

3. COMMENT: MUTTI IS ONE OF MORE THOUGHTFUL MEMBERS OF ADDIS
DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND I JUDGE ENJOYS PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S
CONFIDENCE. HIS PESSIMISTIC VIEW ON CHANCES FOR SUCCESS
OF ADDIS TALKS IS RATHER WIDELY HELD BY ETHIOPIANS AS WELL
AS OAU REPRESENTATIVES, BUT I DOUBT THAT MANY OF THEM WOULD
ACCEPT HIS COMPARISON OF NIGERIA, RHODESIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA.
HALL

CONFIDENTIAL

0250

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

Origin	ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE		
Info:	INFO :	Amembassy ACCRA	PRIORITY
		" ADDIS ABABA	"
		" KINSHASA	"
		" LONDON	"
		" MONROVIA	"
		" NIAMEY	"
		" PARIS	"
		" YAOUNDE	"
	USMission	GENEVA	"
		USUN	"

LIMDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR

1. Please pass following personal message from Secretary Rusk to Exstaff Commissioner ARIKPO at earliest opportunity:
2. QTE Assistant Secretary Palmer has informed me of his recent talks in Lagos with you and General Gowon. I am encouraged and heartened by what he has told me of the desire of your Government to reach a negotiated settlement ~~with their help~~ and to minimize further loss of life.
3. I know that you are already aware that there is deep concern in the United States, as in Africa and elsewhere, over the humanitarian problem of easing the suffering of innocent civilian victims of the civil war, and bringing hostilities to an end.
- ~~war, / ~~which you have worked for every opportunity to obtain better understanding in this country of your Government's position and of your own efforts to end the movement of armed supplies into the secessionist areas.~~~~

Drafted by: <u>7/19/68 J. B. G.</u> AF: AFW: RPSmith/AF: Palmer: ba Clearances:	Tel. Ext. <u>6402</u> Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: <u>S - The Secretary</u>
---	---

M-Mr. Rostow

S/S- Mr. Brown *(KMB)*

SECRET

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0251

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Authority VND 954/503
By MW PAR Date 10/5/01

Page 2 of telegram to LAGOS

SECRET
Classification

4. I recognize fully, Mr. Commissioner, that your Government is determined to preserve the integrity of Nigeria and that your Government has already exercised restraint and patience. I do hope, however, that you will exhaust every possibility of a negotiated settlement before renewing ^{offensive} military operations ~~against~~ against Ibo heartland. Reports of the partial success of the talks at Niamey have been encouraging and raised the hopes of the world that remaining issues can be resolved peacefully. I note with great satisfaction that agreement on an agenda for the peace negotiations at Addis Ababa was reached. The forthcoming talks offer a real opportunity for meaningful negotiations and our hopes and prayers will be for their success.

5. I have made a statement on relief measures we have taken at a press conference today, the text of which Ambassador Mathews will make available to you. You understand, I am certain, that our actions in this connection are motivated solely by humanitarian concerns for the suffering and the hope of seeing peace restored. UNQTE

RUSK

RUSK

0252



POL 27-14 BIAFRA -
Department of State **TELEGRAM** NIGERIA

SECRET 874

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02271 311134Z

17
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,1070 W

R 301545Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2096
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

S E C R E T NIAMEY 2271

LIMDIS

NOFORN

REF: NIAMEY 2265

1. WHEN EMBOFF DELIVERED REFTEL MESSAGE FROM HIM TO
PRESIDENT DIORI, DIORI VOLUNTEERED STATEMENT HE WAS FORWARDING
AGENT ONLY FOR TRANSMISSION SUCH MESSAGES.

2. DIORI TWICE SAID BONGO'S TELEGRAM RE OJUKWU'S VIEWS
HAD ARRIVED AFTER REPEAT AFTER NIAMEY TALKS HAD ENDED. HE
ADDED HE NOW WILL GO BACK TO BONGO AND SAY THAT OJUKWU WILL HAVE
TO TAKE RESULTS NIAMEY TALKS INTO CONSIDERATION.

3. DIORI SAID HE WILL NOTIFY US EMBASSY WHEN ANYTHING
FURTHER IS TO BE DONE.

COMMENT: DIORI OBVIOUSLY UNWILLING ADMIT POSSIBILITY
BONGO'S MESSAGE MAY HAVE ARRIVED DURING NIAMEY TALKS AND
TRANSMITTAL DELAYED BY HIS OFFICE. WE INFORMED IN CONFIDENCE
THIS PARTIALLY EXPLAINS WHY EMBASSY NOT REQUESTED SEND
MESSAGE UNTIL 1030 AM TWENTY-NINTH. IT POSSIBLE MESSAGE
ARRIVED TWENTY-SIXTH OR TWENTY-SEVENTH AFTER TALKS COMPLETED
AND NOT BROUGHT DIORI'S ATTENTION BY SECRETARIAT UNTIL LATE
TWENTY-EIGHTH OR MORNING TWENTY-NINTH.

GP-3 RYAN

SECRET

*NIAMEY 2265
7-30-68*

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(1)

0253

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Authority VMD 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screeners

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SERIAL

(Time Received)

1963 JUL 31 AM 9 37

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Summary
Task Force

Principals

ES2
S
U
M
G
SIG
S/AH3
S/AL
SA
S/CPR
S/GOV
S/IL
S/P
S/R
S/FW
S/PM
M/WP
G/PM
G/DP

Geographic

AF5
ARA9
EA11
EUR9
NEA7

Functional

CU
E2
H
IGA
INR6
IO4
L2
O3
OPR
OC
SY
WLG
P2
SCA
SCS
SCI

OTHER AGENCIES

WH10
CIA
DOD
USIA4
NSA

Other

ACDA5
AID/EXSEC3
AA/AFR2
AA/VN2
AA/EA3
AA/NESA2

PC
VP
AEC3
AGR3
COM2
EXIM
FRB
LAB
NASA
NIC
STR
TRANS
TRSY6
JUS
IRS
INT
BOB
FBI
CEA
FAA
File
Burned

0254

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VMD 9501503
By MW/ARA Date 10/5/02



(11)

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**
26

SECRET 031

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02265 301248Z

44
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,1070 W

P 301140Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2092

S E C R E T NIAMEY 2265

LIMDIS

REF: ADDIS ABABA 4903 - POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

MESSAGE RECEIVED 1030 AM JULY 30 AND DELIVERED
PRESIDENT DIORI 1200 NOON.

GP-3 RYAN

NIAMEY 2265
7-30-68

RECEIVED 11/1/68

(1)

SECRET

0255

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA
Date	10/5/05

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I N C O M I N G

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SERIAL 22657

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1968 JUL 30 AM 11 54

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743

Secretariat

S/S-S 4
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S/S-Screener 3
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Summary
Task Force

Principals

ES 2
S 3
U
M 2
G
SIG 1
S/AH 3
S/AL
S/CPR
S/GOV
S/IL
S/P
S/R
S/FW
S/PM
M/WP
G/PM
G/DP

Geographic

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 9
NEA 7

Functional

CU
E 2
H
IGA
INR 6
IO 4
L 2
O 3
OPR
OC
SY
WLG
P 2
SCA
SCS
SCI

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10
CIA
DOD
USIA 4
NSA

Other

ACDA 5
ATD/EXSEC 3
AA/AFR 2
AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

PC
VP
AEC 3
AGR 3
COM 2
EXIM
FRB
LAB
NASA
NIC
STR
TRANS
TRSY 6
JUS
IRS
INT
BOB
FBI
CEA
FAA
File
Burned

0256

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Authority VND 95/503
By M/NARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

3/
7-30-68
Addis Ababa 4818

CONFIDENTIAL 220

PAGE 01 ADDIS 04818 301454Z

44

ACTION AF 15

INFO SS 20, GPM 04, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, P 04, RSC 01, JSIA 12,

NSC 10, RSR 01, /074 W

P 301400Z JUL 68

FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6409

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 4818

REF: LAGOS 11219, 11220

1. FOL IS TRANSLATION OF AMHARIC TEXT ETHIOPIAN
AMBASSADOR ARAYA'S MSG TO EMPEROR AND FONMIN KETEMA:

2. QTE HIM, ADDIS ABABA. I HAVE DELIVERED YOUR MAJESTY'S
MSG TO GEN GOWON. IT DOES NOT APPEAR THAT HE IS
THINKING OF COMING TO ADDIS; STATED TO ME HE WOULD SEND
YOU REPLY QUICKLY. UNGTE

3. QTE EXCELLENCY KETEMA YIFRU, ADDIS ABABA. WHEN I
DELIVERED THE EMPEROR'S MSG AS I REPORTED, IT DID NOT
SEEM TO ME HE WOULD BE PRESENT AT THE MEETING; SAID HE WOULD
SEND REPLY; IF IT WILL BE FOUND NECESSARY TO ATTEND THE
MEETING HE WILL INFORM ME IN TIME. UNGTE

HALL

1

MODIFIED BY 15

CONFIDENTIAL

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DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 950503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

45
Addis Ababa 4918
7-30-68

CONFIDENTIAL 671

PAGE 01 ADDIS 04918 012207Z

82
ACTION AF 15

INFO SS 20, GPM 04, CTAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, P 04, RSC 01, USIA 12,

NSC 10, RSR 01, 074 W

P 301400Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6403
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL ADDIS ABABA 4918

CORRECTED COPY FOR MRN (4918 VICE 4818)

REF: LAGOS 11219, 11220

1. FOL IS TRANSLATION OF AMHARIC TEXT ETHIOPIAN
AMBASSADOR ARAYA'S MSG TO EMPEROR AND FONMIN KETEMA:

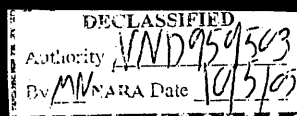
2. QTE HIM, ADDIS ABABA. I HAVE DELIVERED YOUR MAJESTY'S
MSG TO GEN GOWON. IT DOES NOT APPEAR THAT HE IS
THINKING OF COMING TO ADDIS. STATED TO ME HE WOULD SEND
YOU REPLY QUICKLY. UNQTE

3. QTE EXCELLENCY KETEMA YIFRU, ADDIS ABABA. WHEN I
DELIVERED THE EMPEROR'S MSG AS I REPORTED, IT DID NOT
SEEM TO ME HE WOULD BE PRESENT AT THE MEETING. SAID HE WOULD
SEND REPLY IF IT WILL BE FOUND NECESSARY TO ATTEND THE
MEETING HE WILL INFORM ME IN TIME. UNQTE

HALLI

CONFIDENTIAL

0258





Pol 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 959

PAGE 01 IBADAN 00553 301150Z

44
ACTION AF 15

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS 20, USIA 12, EUR 15, IO 13, PC 04, RSR 01, /113 W
.....

R 300942Z JUL 68
FM AMCONSUL IBADAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 606
INFO AMCONSUL KADUNA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

UNCLAS IBADAN 553

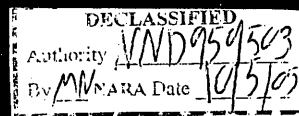
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN TRIBUNE SUPPORTS PEACE TALKS

IBADAN'S NIGERIAN TRIBUNE IN EDITORIAL JULY 30
TAKES ISSUE WITH THOSE WHO ADVISE FMG THAT CIVIL WAR
SHOULD BE CARRIED TO LOGICAL CONCLUSION MILITARILY
WHATEVER HAPPENS. AFTER RECALLING FMG'S PUBLIC
COMMITMENT TO TALKS AND PUBLICLY STATED PREFERENCE
FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION, TRIBUNE CONTINUES: "FOR OUR
PART WE THINK FMG WISE. REALISTIC AND FORESIGHTED IN
AGREEING TO TALKS WHILE AT SAME TIME PURSUING MILITARY
OPERATIONS... WE ARE FIGHTING CIVIL WAR, NOT WAR
AGAINST FOREIGN COUNTRY. HOW CAN WE REFUSE PARTICIPATE
IN PEACE TALKS?... WHAT OUR HAWKS FORGET IS THAT APART
FROM PHYSICAL WAR ON GROUND, WE ARE ALSO FIGHTING
DIPLOMATIC WAR. AND WE MUST NOT WIN ONE ONLY TO LOSE
OTHER. WE CAN AND MUST WIN BOTH."
STRONG

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75



POC 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 11335 302009Z

SS
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, ORM 03, SR 01, AID 28, E 15, ACDA 16, CIAE 00, DODE 22,
GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12,
NSA 02, SAH 02, OPR 02, DOT 10, RSR 01, /188 W

R 301811Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5167
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGERIA
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LONDON 11335

SBJ: BIAFRAN PRESS CONFERENCE-LONDON

1. LONDON PRESS THIS MORNING (JULY 30) REPORTS BIAFRAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER C.C. MOJEKWU OUTLINED BIAFRAN POSITIONS ON PEACE TALKS AT PRESS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY. ACCORDING TO FINANCIAL TIMES, MOJEKWU CONFIRMED THAT FIRST ITEM ON ADDIS AGENDA WOULD BE DISCUSSION OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. BIAFRAN DELEGATION WOULD ALSO PROPOSE "IMMEDIATE REMOVAL OF ECONOMIC BLOCKADE AND WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS BEHIND PRE-WAR BOUNDARIES TO ENABLE REFUGEES TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. ACCORDING TO TIMES, MOJEKWU CALLED AS WELL FOR AN IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF FIGHTING ON LAND, SEA, AND AIR. ON QUESTION OF RELIEF ROUTES, MOJEKWU IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT "INDEPENDENT QUERY" MADE BY OJUKWU AT BEGINNING OF JULY HAD CONCLUDED ENUGU LAND CORRIDOR "WOULD BE DIFFICULT, ARDUOUS AND EXTREMELY SLOW." FOR THIS REASON BIAFRANS CONTINUED TO BELIEVE MASSIVE AIRLIFT WAS NECESSARY AND ALSO FAVORED WATER ROUTE ALONG NIGER AND POSSIBLE USE PORT HARCOURT. IF

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/03



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LONDON 11335 302009Z

NIGERIA WOULD CONSIDER THESE ROUTES, THEN BIAFRA WOULD CONSIDER
ENUGU CORRIDOR.

2. SPEAKING OF FUTURE SETTLEMENT WHICH MIGHT EMERGE FROM
TALKS, FT REPORTS THAT MOJEKWU PROPOSED COOLING OFF PERIOD
TO BE FOLLOWED BY "ECONOMIC COOPERATION". ACCORDING TO TIMES,
MOJEKWU SAID BIAFRA WAS WILLING TO DISCUSS MAXIMUM ECONOMIC
COOPERATION AND COMMON SERVICES WITH FMG. BOTH PAPERS REPORT
THAT, ACCORDING TO MOJEKWU, BIAFRA WOULD AGREE TO INTERNATIONAL
PLICING OF CEASE-FIRE LINES AND SOME KIND OF SUPERVISORY BODY
IN AREAS EVACUTATED BY TROOPS. COMPOSTION AND POWERS OF
INTERNATIONAL FORCE WOULD BE DETERMINED BY AGREEMENT BETWEEN
TWO SIDES.

BRUCE

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0261

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/03

66



POL 27-14 BIAFRA- NIGERIA
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

11/24/68
 11/30-68

UNCLASSIFIED 305

PAGE 01 LAGOS 11248 301530Z

51
 ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, PC 04, ACDA 16, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02,
 INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, RSR 01,
 /159 W

R 301436Z JUL 68
 FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1758
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMCONSUL IBADAN
 AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LAGOS 11248

SUBJECT:- NIGERIAN PRESS CAMPAIGN FOR MILITARY SOLUTION

1. NIGERIAN PRESS IN PAST FEW DAYS HAS BEEN CALLING FOR QUICK
 END TO WAR. THE CAMPAIGN, PRESUMABLY GOVERNMENT INSPIRED,
 EMPHASIZES FUTILITY OF NEGOTIATING WITH REBELS AND HOLDS OUT
 LITTLE HOPE FOR ADDIS ABABA CONFERENCE. PAPERS STRESS
 HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF MILITARY SOLUTION.

2. LARGEST CIRCULATION DAILY TIMES JULY 29 IN FRONT PAGE
 EDITORIAL, ENTITLED "VICTORY FIRST, TALKS AFTER," STATED "WE
 WANT PEACE" BUT AT PEACE TALKS "REBELS ARE SIMPLY PLAYING FOR
 TIME." PAPER CONCLUDES, "THERE IS ONLY ONE REMEDY OPEN IN THESE
 LAST DAYS OF THE REBELLION AND THAT IS TO BRING OJUKWU TO HIS
 KNEES IN THE THEATRE OF WAR...THE TALKING JUST HAS TO STOP."

3. MORNING POST, JULY 29 HEADLINED WARNING BY PROVOST OF ANGLICAN
 CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, LAGOS, REV. SEGUN, THAT OJUKWU WAS AN
 "EVIL GENIUS" WHO WOULD PROBABLY PLAY FOR TIME AT ADDIS ABABA
 CONFERENCE AND THEN CONTINUE WAR HOPING FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.
 OTHER PAPERS CARRIED SAME STORY.

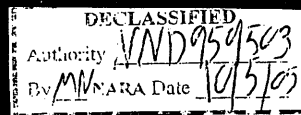
4. ALL PAPERS JULY 30 PROMINENTLY PLAYED STATEMENT BY VISITING
 UK MP'S, WHICH WAS SUBJECT OF FMG PRESS RELEASE JULY 29, TO

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MICROFILMED BY DS/7

①

0262





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 11248 301530Z

EFFECT THAT "THE SHORTER FMG MAKES THE PRESENT NIGERIAN WAR THE
LEAST (SIC) CHANCES FOR THE REBEL TO COMPLICATE ISSUES."
DAILY TIMES HEADLINED "THE SHORTER THE WAR, THE BETTER."

5. MORNING POST JULY 30 IN EDITORIAL ENTITLED "TIME FOR WAR"
STATE THAT "ONLY WHEN THIS WAR HAS BEEN FOUGHT TO THE END"
AND OJUKWU DEFEATED CAN NIGERIA "KNOW PERMANENT PEACE."
MATHEWS

UNCLASSIFIED

0263

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MW/ARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 347

PAGE 01 ADDIS 04903 300112Z

83
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,1070 W

P R 291954Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6393

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 4903

LIMDIS

HIM REQUESTS WE DELIVER FOL MSG TO PRESIDENT DIORI HIS
BEHALF:

QTE H.E. HAMANI DIORI PRESIDENT REPUBLIC NIGER STOP I HAVE RECEIVED
THE MSG THAT YOU HAVE TRANSMITTED TO ME THROUGH THE AMERICAN
EMB CONCERNING THE POSITION OF COLONEL OJUKWU REGARDING THE
PROPOSED MEETING OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE IN ADDIS ABABA STOP
CONONEL OJUKWU'S ATTITUDE AS EXPRESSED IN YOUR TELEGRAM IS NOT CLEAR
TO ME STOP 1. IN THE FIRST PARAGRAPH COLONEL OJUKWU SAYS
THAT HE WILL COME TO ADDIS ABABA IF CERTAIN POINTS ARE
RESOLVED IN NIAMEY STOP HE SEEMS TO BELIEVE THAT NIAMEY CON-
FERENCE IS STILL IN SESSION CONTRARY TO THE FACT THAT THE NIAMEY
MEETING ADJOURNED FOUR DAYS AGO STOP 2. CONONEL OJUKWU SUGGESTS ANRH

A
GENDA FOR THE ADDIS ABABA MEETING WHICH IS IN
CONTRADICTION WITH THE AGENDA FOR THE ADDIS ABABA MEETING
AGREED UPON AT NIAMEY BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FEDERAL
MIPMTARY GOVT. OF NIGERIA AND THE DELEGATES OF CONONEL OJUKWU
STOP

3. ACCORDINGLY I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING FROM YOUR EXCELLENCY
INFO AS TO THE MEANING OF THE MSG STOQVUA PARTICULAR TO
MEET YOUR REQUEST, THAT THE MSG STOP IN PARTICULAR TO MEET YOUR
REQUEST, THAT THE MSG BE DISTRIBUTED TO THE OTHER MEMBERS OF
THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE, I WOULD APPRECIATE HAANB YOUR ANALYSIS
AND APPRIAISAL OF THE MSG STOP PLEASE ACCEPT YOUR EXCELLENCY MY
HIGHEST CONSIDERATIONS AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM STOP YOUR GOOD
FRIEND HAILE SELLASSE I EMPEROR UNQTE

0

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SECRET

0264

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Authority VND 954503
By MN/ARA Date 10/5/05

4
Cable Abaka 4903
7-29-68



Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

PAGE 02. ADDIS 04903 300112Z

BECAUSE OF POSSIBLE CONFUSION ON DELIVERY MSGS WOULD APPRECIATE
CONFIRMATION RECEIPT AND DELIVERY. WE WILL RECIPROCATE CON-
FIRMATION
OUR END FUTURE
MESSAGES. HALL

SECRET

0265

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 950503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/03

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

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Screener

POST Addis Ababa

(Time Received)

SERIAL 4903

1968 JUL 30 AM 4 59

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

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Geographic

Other

S/S-S 1
S/S-O 1
S/S-Screener 3
S/S-EX 3
S/S-CMS
S/S-O DIR
MilRep
Summary
Task Force

AF5 X 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 9
NEA 7

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
AA/AFR2 3
AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

Functional

Principals

ES2 1
S 3
U 1
M2 1
G
SIG 1
S/AH 3
S/AL
S/CPR
S/GOV
S/IL
S/P 1
S/R 1
S/FW
S/PM
M/WP
G/PM
G/DP

CU
E 2
H 1
IGA
INR 6
IO4
L2
O3
OPR
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P2 2
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 10
CIA P
DOD
USIA 4
NSA

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Burned

0266

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By MVA Date 10/5/02



PC 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 708

PAGE 01 LAGOS 11220 292036Z

84

ACTION AF 15

INFO GPM 04, NSC 10, SP 02, SS 20, RSC 01, INR 07, CIAE 00, NSAE 00, DODE 00,

RSR 01, 1060 W

P 291700Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1746

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 11220

REF: A) LAGOS 11219; B) ADDIS ABABA 4882

1. ETHIOPIAN AMB INFORMED DCM WHEN PRESENTING REPLIES TO REF B FOR TRANSMITTAL THAT HE SAW GOWON WHO SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO STUDY EMPEROR'S "INVITATION" TO ADDIS TALKS AND WOULD INFORM H.I.M. DIRECTLY AS TO HIS DECISION.

2. AMB SAW ARIKPO AT LUNCHEON PRIOR TO ETHIOPIAN AMB'S APPROACH TO GOWON AND FOREWARNED HIM OF MESSAGE. ARIKPO INDICATED HE BELIEVED IT UNLIKELY GOWON WOULD GO TO ADDIS.

3. REF A TRANSMITTING MESSAGES IN AMHARIC NOT SENT DEPT.

GP-3. MATHEWS

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Adeline Abata
7-29-68
4896

CONFIDENTIAL 744

PAGE 01 ADDIS 04896 300904Z

18
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 00,
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 02, NSA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28,
RSR 01, /145 W

R 291500Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6384
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 4896

1. HIM SUMMONED BRITISH CHARGE SWANN AND ME TO SEPARATE APPOINTMENTS AT PALACE TODAY TO DISCUSS STATUS NIGERIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. ACCORDING TO COMPARED NOTES WITH SWANN, BOTH AUDIENCES FOLLOWED MUCH SAME LINE.

2. HIM TOLD ME HE WISHED TO INFORM BY GOVT WHERE THE NIGERIAN TALKS STOOD, AND TO ASK MORAL SUPPORT OF USG FOR OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE'S EFFORT TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN NIGERIA. HE REVIEWED DEVELOPMENTS TO DATE, GENERALLY AS KNOWN PUBLICLY, AND THEN SAID CONVERSATIONS WITH OJUKWU IN NIAMEY HAD GIVEN HIM BETTER IDEA OF WHAT REALLY TROUBLED OJUKWU AND IBOS. HE MENTIONED IMPORTANCE TO BIAFRANNS OF CHRISTIAN-MOSLEM OVERTONES IN CONFLICT. HIM SAID HE HAD ASKED ALL PRINCIPALS OF HIS COMMITTEE TO COME TO ADDIS. HE DID NOT WISH TO TAKE FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR NEGOTIATIONS, ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT DIORI HAD URGED HIM DO SO. HE HOPED HE WOULD BE ABLE PERSUADE PRINCIPALS OF CONCERNED NATIONS TO REVIEW IBO CONCERNS IN DETAIL IN EFFORT WORK OUT STEPS TO ALLAY IBI FEARS DURING SETTLEMENT AND POST-SETTLEMENT PERIOD. UNLESS SUCH MEASURES DEVISED IN PROCESS OF SETTLEMENT, PEACE WOULD BE DIFFICULT IF NOT IM-

RECORDED BY 5573

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 04896 300904Z

POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE IN NIGERIA.

3. HIM SAID HE WAS CLEAR IN HIS OWN MIND THAT BIAFRA CANNOT RPT NOT BE ACCORDED INDEPENDENT STATUS. HE SAID IF SECESSION OF BIAFRA SUCCEEDS MOST OTHER NATIONS IN AFRICA FACING SIMILAR TRIBAL AND MINORITY PROBLEMS WOULD SOON BE SPLINTERED. BIAFRAN SECESSION CANNOT BE PERMITTED, THEREFORE, BUT AT SAME TIME FMG MUST BE BROUGHT TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF REAL FEARS OF IBOS AND MAKE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH ALLAY THESE FEARS.

4. HIM ASKED FOR WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT OF USG FOR COMMITTEE'S EFFORT. I RESPONDED THAT IT HAS BEEN USG POLICY TO GIVE STRONG SUPPORT TO CONCEPT OF NIGERIAN UNITY, AND TO EFFORTS OF OAU AND COMMITTEE OF WHICH HIM CHAIRMAN. US PRESS REPORTS IN RECENT DAYS HAD NOT FULLY REFLECTED THIS, BUT I HAD JUST RECEIVED FULL TEXT OF ASST SECY PALMER'S OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF USG POLICY ON NIGERIA WHICH CLEARLY SET FORTH US CONCERN. I HAD PROVIDED A COPY TO FONOFF AND WOULD ASK THAT THEY MAKE IT AVAILABLE TO HIM IN AMHARIC.

5. I ALSO REFERRED TO HUMANITARIAN CONCERN OF AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR SUFFERING OF NIGERIAN PEOPLE INCLUDING IBOS IN CONFLICT AND STRONG PUBLIC INTEREST IN PROVIDING RELIEF FOR THEM. I ALSO NOTED THAT WHILE THERE HAD BEEN STRONG PUBLICITY ON BEHALF OF BIAFRAN CAUSE IN US, US GOVT POLICY HAD NOT CHANGED. HIM EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR US RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO NIGERIAN PEOPLE AND THANKED ME FOR EXPRESSION FULL US COOPERATION WITH OAU EFFORTS TO GAIN AGREEMENT ON RELIEF PLANS AND ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICT. TO BOTH BRITISH CHARGE AND ME, HIM URGED PUBLIC STATEMENTS AT APPROPRIATE TIME BY LEADERS OF RESPECTIVE GOVTS SUPPORTING OAU COMMITTEE EFFORTS.

HIM EMPHASIZED SEVERAL TIMES THAT IF COMING TALKS IN ADDIS DO NOT SUCCEED THERE IS SERIOUS DANGER AFRICA WILL BE FRACTURED.

7. HIM APPEARED TIRED, AND DEEPLY CONCERNED AND PREOCCUPIED BY NIGERIAN PROBLEM. OTHER THAN INSTINCTIVE DESIRE TO TALK OVER PROBLEM WITH SYMPATHETIC OUTSIDERS IN MIDST OF HIS PERSONAL WRESTLING WITH PROBLEM AND ABSENCE IN INDIA OF FONMIN KETEMA ON WHOM HE RELIES FOR ADVICE, ONLY OTHER POSSIBLE MOTIVE FOR AUDIENCE TODAY MAY HAVE BEEN SOME CONCERN OVER PRESS PLAY OF

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Authority	VND954503
By	MW/NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 ADDIS 04896 300904Z

RECENT WASH STATEMENTS ON NIGERIAN PROBLEM WHICH DID NOT GIVE
ACCURATE EMPHASIS TO USG SUPPORT OF OAU PEACE EFFORTS AND
BRITISH EDITORIALS AND PRESS ACCOUNTS SYMPATHETIC TO BIAFRA
HALL

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0270

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Authority	VND 950503
By	MV NARA
Date	10/5/05

(11)



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

(38)

SECRET 136

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02244 291032Z

14
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,1070 W

P 290920Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2079
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T NIAMEY 2244

LYMDIS

PRESIDENT DIORI REQUESTED EMBASSY JULY 29 TO TRANSMIT
FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO OUR EMBASSIES ADDIS AND ACCRA FOR
EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE AND GENERAL ANKRAH:

BEGIN TEXT

PRESIDENT ALBERT BERNARD BONGO HAS SENT ME FROM LIBREVILLE
THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM:

ZCOLONEL OJUKWU HAS DECIDED TO GO TO THE CONFERENCE FOR
PEACE TALKS AT ADDIS-ABEBA IF THE FOLLOWING THREE POINTS
ARE REACHED IN NIAMEY:

FIRST: A SOLUTION SHOULD BE REACHED ON THE SAFETY AND SUPPLY OF THE
CIVILIAN POPULATION;

SECOND: ARRANGEMENTS FOR A CEASE-FIRE;

THIRD: ACTUAL PRESENCE OF GENERAL GOWON AT ADDIS-ABEBA STOP.
COLONEL OJUKWU THINKS THAT DIRECT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN HIMSELF
AND GENERAL GOWON WOULD HAVE THE GREATEST CHANCE OF RESOLVING
ALL THE PROBLEMS. STOP. I SHOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU
COULD CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF APPROACHING THE O.A.U.
COMMITTEE IN THAT SENSE. HIGHEST AND FRATERNAL CONSIDERATION
STOP. HIGHEST AND FRATERNAL CONSIDERATION. STOP. DIORI
HAMANI. END TEXT

COMMENT: ACCORDING MEMBER PRESIDENT'S STAFF, THIS

SECRET

NIAMEY 2244
7-29-68

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MW/ARA
Date	10/5/03



Department of State **TELEGRAM** (28)

SECRET

PAGE 02 NIAMEY 02244 291032Z

MESSAGE HAS BEEN LYING ON DIORI'S DESK FOR PAST THREE DAYS.

GP-3 RYAN

SECRET

0272

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

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1963 JUL 29 AM 7 43

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Summary
Task Force

Principals

ES *2*
S *4*
U
M *2*
G
SIG *1*
S/AH *3*
S/AL
S/CPR
S/GOV
S/IL
S/P
S/R *1*
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M/WP
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Geographic

AF5 *X 5*
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EUR 9
NEA 7

Functional

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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10
CIA *P*
DOD
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NSA

Other

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
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AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

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By MVA Date 10/5/03

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

*11/199
7-29-68*

CONFIDENTIAL 094

PAGE 01 LAGOS 11199 290954Z

14
ACTION: AF 15

INFO SS 20, INR 07, RSC 01, RSR 01, /044 W

P 290920Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1734

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 11199

REF: ADDIS ABABA 4882 AND 48862

HMM'S MESSAGE PASSED TO ETHIOPIAN EMBASSY 1000 HOURS
LOCAL FOR DELIVERY BY AMBASSADOR TO GENERAL GOWON.

GP 63

MATHEWS

CONFIDENTIAL

0274

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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AGR	COM	FRB	INT
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LAB	TAR	TR	XMB
AIR	ARMY	NAVY	OSD
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		NSC	
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Date:
Initials:

FORM 10-64 DS-323

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Drafted by: ADMIN:DADarrer:dad

Drafting Date:

Phone No.:

Contents and Classification Approved by: ADMIN:T P Schotke

Clearances:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

Original to be Filed in _____ Decentralized Files.

FILE DESIGNATION

UNCLASSIFIED

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

FROM : USUN - New York

DATE: July 29, 1968

SUBJECT : OAU Communique re Nigeria

REF :

Enclosed is a copy of a note from the Nigerian Mission to the UN, dated July 23, 1968, transmitting, for information, the text of the Communique issued by the Consultative Committee of the OAU on Nigeria in Niamey on July 19, 1968.

PEDERSEN

Enclosures:

1. Copy of note
2. Communique

0275

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Authority VMD 954503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

46



POL 15-1 L113
TR POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 996 POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 ADDIS 04881 290545Z

14
ACTION AF 15

INFO SS 20, INR 07, RSC 01, RSP 01, /044 W

P 282005Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6375

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 4881

REQUEST FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE PASSED PRESIDENT TUBMAN SOONEST:

QUOTE PRESIDENT W.S. TUBMAN PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
MONROVIA EXCELLENCY IN VIEW OF THE SUCCESS OF THE NIAMEY PRELIMINARY
TALKS AND THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF THE FORTHCOMING PEACE NEGOTIATIONS,
I HAVE THE HONOUR TO REQUEST YOUR EXCELLENCY TO COME TO ADDIS ABABA IN

PERSON BEFORE SUNDAY AUGUST 4 1968 SO AS TO ENABLE US OPEN THE PEACE
NEGOTIATION ON AUGUST 5 1968 IN THE PRESENCE OF ALL HEADS OF STATE
MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE STOP INASMUCH AS ALL THE
PRELIMINARY WORK HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE YOUR STAY IN ADDIS ABABA COULD
BE SHORT STOP I WILL APPRECIATE RECEIVING BY CABLE THE DATE OF YOUR
ARRIVAL STOP YOUR EXCELLENCY PLEASE ACCEPT MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATIONS
AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM STOP YOUR GOOD FRIEND HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR.
UNQUOTE.

HALL

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2

CONFIDENTIAL

8 Addis Ababa 4881
7-28-68

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Authority VND 954503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Addie Ababa
7-28-68
4882

CONFIDENTIAL 671

PAGE 01 ADDIS 04882 300814Z

12
ACTION AF 15

INFO GPM 04, NSC 10, SP 02, SS 20, RSC 01, CIAE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, DODE 00

RSR 01, SSO 00, 1060 W

P 282005Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6376

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 4882

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

REQUEST FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE PASSED GENERAL GOWAN SOONEST:
QTE: HAVING REGARD TO THE SUCCESS OF THE PRELIMINARY TALKS OF
NIAMEY AND THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS I HAVE
THE HONOUR TO REQUEST YOUR EXCELLENCY TO LEAD YOUR DELEGATION IN
PERSON AND TO ARRIVE IN ADDIS ABABA BEFORE SUNDAY AUGUST 4 1968
SO AS TO ENABLE US OPEN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS ON
AUGUST 5 1968 STOP I HAVE REQUESTED THE OTHER 5 HEADS OF
STATE MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE TO BE PRESENT IN
PERSON AT THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS STOP YOUR EXCELLENCY PLEASE
ACCEPT MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATIONS AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM STOP YOUR GOOD
FRIEND HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR STOP UNQTE.

HALL:

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Authority	VND 950503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 020

PAGE 01 ADDIS 04882 290706Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO GPM 04, NSC 10, SP 02, SS 20, RSC 01, CIAE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, DODE 00,
RSR 01, SSO 00, 1060 W

P 282005Z JUL 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6376

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 4882

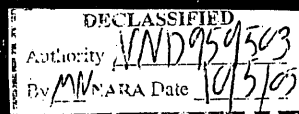
REQUEST FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE PASSED GENERAL GOWAN SOONEST:
QTE. HAVING REGARD TO THE SUCCESS OF THE PRELIMINARY TALKS OF
NIAMEY AND THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS (#)
HONOUR TO REQUEST YOUR EXCELLENCY TO LEAD YOUR DELEGATION IN
PERSON AND TO ARRIVE IN ADDIS ABABA BEFORE SUNDAY AUGUST 4 1968
SO AS TO ENABLE US OPEN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS ON
AUGUST 5 1968 STOP I HAVE REQUESTED THE OTHER 5 HEADS OF
STATE MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE TO BE PRESENT IN
PERSON AT THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS STOP YOUR EXCELLENCY PLEASE
ACCEPT MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATIONS AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM STOP YOUR GOOD
FRIEND HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR STOP UNQTE.

HALL:

NOTE: (#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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66
OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

PRIORITY

Amembassy LAGOS

Origin

ACTION:

Info

INFO

Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy ROME
Amembassy PARIS
Amembassy NIAMEY
Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
Amembassy IBADAN
Amembassy KADUNA
CINCSTRIKE
U S Mission GENEVA

STATE

SUBJECT: NIGERIA PRESS SUMMARY JULY 27, 1968

1. NYTimes reports from Niamey that peace talks ended without plan for relief. Question held over as third item on agenda of Addis talks to begin August 5 or before. Communique "glossed over" failure to reach agreement in following terms "Two sides have decided to have further consultations for speedy action and intend to give priority to practical steps on this humanitarian issue, whose importance, seriousness, and urgency have been acknowledged by all." Times reports observers felt the points on which "further consultations" were needed involved the "mercy corridor". Both FMG's Okunnu and Biafra's Njoku made 'optimistic' declarations quoted in story, which lists

three point agenda and speculates reason peace settlement

Drafted by:

AF:AF/P Raltier:chg

classification approved by:

AFW - R. Smith

(Nigerian Task Force)

Clearances:

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
210434
TR POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
27 JUL 68 16 35Z

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0279

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By MVA Date 10/5/95

ORIGIN/ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

POL 27-14
BIAFRA - NIGERIA

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RM/R	REP	AF
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ARA	EUR	FE
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NEA	6/PM	5
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	1	5
L	3	20
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OKM	5/1	5/5
	1	10
AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
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PASS	NSC	
11	6	

A-134
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TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO: Dept please pass: ABIDJAN, ACCRA, ADDIS ABABA, DAR-ES-SALAAM, KINSHASA, LAGOS, LIBREVILLE, LONDON, MONROVIA, PARIS, YAOUNDE

FROM : AmEmbassy, NIAMEY

DATE: July 27, 1968

SUBJECT: Niamey Talks on Nigeria, July 15-26

REF : Niamey 2232, 2226, and previous Embtels

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II. Ambiance	2
III. Consultative Committee Meeting	3
IV. Preliminary Talks	5
V. The Press	6
VI. Conclusions	7

Enclosures:

1. Text of Resolution Sponsored by Ghana
2. Resolution
3. Special Communique
4. Diori Press Conference of July 20, 1968
5. BBC Mangold Interview in English with President Diori July 20, 1968
6. Communique No. 2
7. Final Communique on the Preliminary Peace Talks
8. Principal Biafran Delegation Members
9. Principal Nigerian Delegation Members
10. Chronology of Events for Consultative Committee Meeting
11. Chronology of Events for Preliminary Talks

FORM 4-62 DS-323

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Drafted by: H/som/flj&es

Contents and Classification Approved by: Ambassador Robert J. Ryan

Clearances: DCM-AErdos (in draft)

July 27, 1968

0280

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Authority: VND 95/503
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/02

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ENCLOSURES

Page 2
Airgram No. A-134
AmEmbassy, Niamey

I. SUMMARY

In the relaxed, informal "spirit of Niamey" created by Niger President Diori as host, the OAU Consultative Committee on Nigeria met from July 15-19. The result, as Liberian President Tubman candidly said afterwards, was "a great success to the big surprise of everyone," for the Committee succeeded in getting the two conflicting Nigerian sides to agree to resume peace negotiations at Addis Ababa. The Preliminary Talks for Addis, held under President Diori's chairmanship from July 20 to 26, adopted an agenda calling for talks beginning August 5 to discuss a permanent settlement of the war. The Preliminary Talks then blossomed into negotiations on the transportation of relief supplies to Nigeria war victims, but to Chairman Diori's great disappointment, the two sides failed to reach complete agreement, leaving the issue to be decided at Addis. The foreign press corps who came in to cover the conference chafed under the efforts of President Diori and OAU Secretary General Diallo Telli to restrict information on the content of the meetings. Taken together, the two meetings in Niamey represent a positive, serious effort on the part of the Africans to come to grips with Africa's most serious problem.

II. AMBIANCE

The principal centers of activity for the talks which took place in Niamey from July 15 to 26 were the green-shuttered Palace and the metal-doored airport terminal. The delegates met around a horseshoe-shaped table in the glass enclosed Palace dining room. Everyone else, including members of the press, sat around in the overstuffed, big flowered chairs of the Palace's main salon. While there was easy access to delegates at the Palace, the Niger Government placed tight security arrangements around the villas housing the two Nigerian delegations.

The delegates worked long, hard hours. President Diori hosted a single cocktail party in honor of the participants at the beginning, and only during the last couple of days of the preliminary talks were delegates seen occasionally wandering over to the Niamey museum, shopping for French luxury items or having a nightcap at one of the local bars.

Special visitors to Niamey for the conference included the British Chargé based at Abidjan, Mr. Mark McMullen. On a different level were two Britishers who arrived to make contact with the Biafran delegation. One was a Mr. Gerhardt employed in Geneva by Mark Press, publicity agents for the Biafrans. Another was Miss Susan Garth, a super charged, fuzzy haired little woman with a plan to send Biafran babies to Britain. Neither Mr. Gerhardt nor Miss Garth remained for long.

The knowledgeable Nigeriens such as Diori and certain of his assistants were always at the Palace where Western diplomats thought it unwise to appear

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too frequently during an African-sponsored meeting. As a result, the diplomatic corps found itself depending mostly on press contacts for information about the meetings. Even the French Ambassador seemed no better informed than anyone else since he has not been in Niamey long enough to establish the very close ties with the President that his predecessor had. Embassy efforts to talk with the Nigerian Chargé to Niger, never noted for his sage observations anyway, proved largely fruitless but at least provided some of the comic relief during the two weeks of talks: the British Chargé calling the Nigerian Chargé was told by his secretary, "No, the Chargé is not here now but would you like to speak to his chauffeur?" On another occasion at the airport the Nigerian Chargé and some other Nigerians were standing on the runway having just witnessed the landing of a plane which reportedly carried the first Biafran arrivals. As the government limousines sped away with the passengers, an Embassy officer turned to the Nigerians and asked if they had noted how many Biafrans had gotten off the plane. In chorus, they repeated the hackneyed but apt line: "Biafrans? We don't recognize the Biafrans."

III. CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Beginning the night of July 15, the six-nation Consultative Committee (Niger, Ghana, Ethiopia, Liberia, Congo-Kinshasa, and Cameroon), represented by the respective chiefs of state except for Congo-Kinshasa's Mobutu, held almost steady sessions up to mid-day of July 18. During this period the Committee decided on an agenda, hurriedly issued the invitation to Colonel Ojukwu to talk to the Committee, heard General Gowon's statement, and worked on a resolution regarding relief supplies for war victims and renewed peace negotiations. Despite the excitement generated by the announcement received the morning of July 17 that the Biafrans would come in a few days, heads of the Cameroon and Nigeria delegations and the whole Congolese delegation departed on July 18. Colonel Ojukwu came and went mysteriously and quickly on July 19. Just before his departure, Committee Spokesman Diallo Telli issued the Committee Resolution and the Special or Final Communique. (See Enclosures 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, and 10 for texts of communiques, principal delegates of the two Nigeria sides, and a chronology of the meeting.)

Reportedly right up to the moment when Colonel Ojukwu departed Niamey on board the "Mystere 20", placed at his disposal by Ivory Coast President Houphouet Boigny, Committee members tried to persuade Ojukwu to stay the night while they attempted to persuade General Gowon to come back from Lagos. Considering Niamey "belligerent territory", Ojukwu refused. He returned to the rebel capital, stopping briefly in Abidjan and Libreville to hold conversations with Houphouet Boigny and Gabon President Bongo.

General Gowon's statement to the Committee was publicized by the Federal Government rather than the Consultative Committee. In it he warned the Biafrans

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that if they did not return to the negotiating table the Federal Government would have no choice but to take over all the rebel-held areas. The General strongly criticized the four governments who have recognized Biafra and urged them to use their influence to prevail on the Biafrans to resume negotiations. On the question of relief supplies, Gowon insisted that a foreign observer force could come to Nigeria only on invitation from the Lagos Government. Lastly, he accused the Biafrans of using the relief supplies question to gain diplomatic and military advantages.

There was no press release on Colonel Ojukwu's statement to the Committee. Evidently he repeated the familiar Biafran themes. In his interview with the BBC, Niger President Diori commented that the Colonel's hour and a half speech had been delivered in a very slow voice and that he was obviously confident of the rightness of his cause. (See Enclosure 5 for full text of Diori's BBC interview, the first extemporary interview in English that he has ever given.)

The Committee's Resolution requesting a "mercy corridor" for relief supplies and a resumption of peace talks with the objective of preserving Nigeria's territorial integrity was not accepted by Colonel Ojukwu. (See Enclosure 2 for full text.) A question remains whether he actually saw the Resolution before it was released to the public or, if he did, if he was able to discuss its contents with the Committee during his short stay. In any case, it appears that the Resolution was probably already drafted and approved by the Committee before Ojukwu arrived.

The articles in the Resolution on relief supplies are very different from the proposal discussed originally by the Committee. Reportedly sponsored by Ghana, a proposal was considered which called for a limited truce while a demilitarized zone, which would be maintained by an international police force, was established for the transport of relief supplies. (See Enclosure 1 for a copy of the proposal.) Rumors circulated during the conference that Gowon was shocked when he saw it and absolutely refused to accept it. One story goes that when Gowon challenged Ghana's General Ankrah about the proposal, demanding to know why Ghana was pushing it, Ankrah replied he simply could not return to face his Cabinet unless he did.

Gowon's subsequent success in convincing the Committee to change the articles to something acceptable to the Federal Government are attributed partly to his playing on the fears of each Committee member that they, too, have potential Iboland. In addition, the Committee delegations were probably unprepared to argue too long with the highly competent, persuasive members of the Nigerian Federal Government delegation.

The final communique to which both sides of the Nigeria conflict did agree was the special two-point communique issued on July 19 calling for resumption of peace talks in Addis Ababa with preliminary talks in Niamey

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under the chairmanship of President Diori. Hopes were high at this juncture that an African solution was going to be found to an African problem.

While Consultative Committee delegates left Niamey on July 20 (except for Liberia President Tubman who stayed until the 21st), delegates from the Lagos Government and Biafra remained to begin the preliminary talks that same day.

IV. PRELIMINARY TALKS

Some observers believe that the preliminary talks were meant as a gesture to Diori as host of the Consultative Committee meeting and were not intended to do more than decide details of agenda, size of delegations, etc., for the main talks to be held in Addis. Whatever their original intent, the Preliminary Talks developed unexpectedly into a week's negotiation on a relief supply plan for Nigeria war victims.

President Diori, as chairman of the Talks, got the two sides started on discussions on July 20. His idea was to provide a relaxed, informal atmosphere in which the two sides would thrash things out on their own, consulting him if there were difficulties (Diori's Assistant Director of the Cabinet, Maitourare Gadjo, sat in on the plenary meetings to report progress of the discussions to the President). Diori also remained in communication with Bongo and Houphouet for their help in persuading Ojukwu to accept compromise solutions. OAU Secretary General Diallo Telli participated in the plenary sessions and acted as official spokesman for the talks, as he did during the Consultative Committee meetings.

The announcement of the adoption of the agenda was made the day after the discussions began. Several Nigerians then appeared from Lagos to strengthen the delegation and talks began in earnest on concrete proposals for conveying relief supplies to the war victims. Optimism ran high during the first few days of the talks that some kind of agreement was going to be reached. As late as the evening of July 24, a Biafran delegate called up a local reporter to say enthusiastically that progress was being made (one of the few known times when the Biafrans initiated contact with the press). Unfortunately by July 25 it was increasingly evident that the talks had run into snags. The four-man Sub-Committee was not going back into plenary session as promised each day and the comments of President Diori were sounding more discouraged. There was a brief hope that the return of a Biafran delegate on July 25 from consultations with Ojukwu would bring some needed concessions. But the final communique issued at the end of the talks on July 26 made it clear that agreement had not been reached. (See Enclosure 7 for full text.)

There are still too few details known about the content of discussions to make a full analysis of the progress made toward a final agreement. President Diori told the British Chargé that the modalities of a land corridor

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were agreed upon. According to him, the sticky point was that the Federal side would not allow air supplies into rebel territory unless they stopped first on the Federal side for inspection, and the Biafrans would not agree to receiving supplies by land until the question of the air corridors was resolved. Alison Ayida of the Federal Delegation told VOA correspondent Sean Kelly immediately after the meeting broke up that the talks had moved a little bit further since Kampala but that the important issue of secession was not even touched upon.

President Diori was very disappointed that the preliminary talks did not resolve the relief supplies question, yet seemed relieved that the talks in Niamey were over. In a July 26 message to Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie, Diori recommended that for the negotiations to begin August 5 in Addis, the Emperor act as sole representative of the OAU Consultative Committee. It seems possible, however, that Diallo Telli rather than the Emperor may be able to assume the commanding role at Addis that Diori has had throughout the meetings in Niamey.

V. THE PRESS

The foreign press corps which descended on Niamey for the Consultative Committee meeting included American, British, Czechoslovakian, Nigerian, Ethiopian, Ghanaian, and Liberian correspondents. Most of them thought the story was over at the close of this meeting and left. For the Preliminary Talks the foreign news media was thus limited to four Britishers and two Americans, in addition, of course, to the local AFP representative.

Sean Kelly, the VOA correspondent in Lagos, proved invaluable to the Embassy because of his acquaintance both with delegation members and the background of the Nigeria conflict. Al Friendly, Jr., of the New York Times, Arnold Zeitlin of AP, and Bruce Oudes, a stringer, were also very cooperative in keeping the Embassy informed of conference happenings.

The press corps chafed under Diallo Telli's announcement right at the opening of the conference that the sessions were too sensitive to give daily briefings. Telli issued further warnings to the press during the week when it became clear that they were succeeding in getting information anyway. Howls of protest went up from the correspondents when severe controls were placed on their access to the Palace, airport, and delegation villas the day Ojukwu arrived. The press amused themselves that day with sitting around trading ideas on how to "get Telli", concluding that the best way would be a story (apparently true) revealing that leaks to newsmen were coming from Telli's secretariat itself.

President Diori was in fact greatly relieved at the departure on July 20 of certain British and American correspondents. He had been most unhappy

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with their blow-by-blow accounts of the meetings and their buttonholing members of the delegations. One of the problems he and Telli failed to appreciate, however, was that the lack of daily press briefings forced the press into greater efforts to snoop and to speculate than might have been the case otherwise.

To keep the Biafrans from using Niamey as a propaganda forum, Diori imposed tight security protection around them. They were housed in the military compounds across the street from the Palace and reporters found it impossible to penetrate the gate (also, an estimated 180 Ibo servants and laborers in Niamey were detained during the conference). One guard even threatened to shoot a photographer who had obtained advance permission to take a picture. Interestingly enough, the Biafran delegates made very few attempts to contact the press even when they had an opportunity.

One incident occurred which proved that Africans do listen to the Voice of America. Because Diori maintains quite tight controls on news stories he thinks should not be printed by the local AFP correspondent, the latter sometimes circumvents this by sending the story to Paris for repetition on the European rather than African AFP circuit. The procedure backfired during the conference when the Voice of America picked up from the European circuit his story on the Ghana proposal which was supposed to be still secret and credited AFP with the report in its Africa broadcast. To the glee of some of the foreign press correspondents, the AFP correspondent got called on the carpet by Diori almost immediately after the broadcast.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

At the start of the OAU Consultative Committee meeting there was reason to be cynical about positive results. The previous meeting of the Committee in Lagos had failed to establish a dialogue with Ojukwu. There were the usual postponement of date and confusion about attendance for this second gathering. And no decisions had been made before the meeting began on July 15 about an agenda or whether to invite the Biafrans or possibly an ICRC representative. At the end of the meeting, however, the Committee could point with pride to having taken the initiative in getting the two conflicting sides to agree to resume negotiations.

The Committee's "play-it-by-ear" approach might have come to nothing except for two factors. The world-wide interest in getting food and medicine to the war victims, an interest which has mushroomed in recent weeks, gave the Committee the needed excuse to invite the Biafrans and establish the OAU in the role of mediator between the two sides. Moreover, the two sides seemed anxious to resume talks, particularly the Biafrans. The Biafrans accepted the Committee's invitation with alacrity and chose to ignore the

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Committee's resolution, a resolution apparently approved before they arrived and leaning in word and content to the Lagos position.

The Preliminary Talks appear from Diori's point of view to have been only a partial success. He had hoped to get relief supplies flowing before the peace negotiations in Addis opened. What he did succeed in doing, nonetheless, was to provide a friendly, informal, relaxed atmosphere now referred to as "the spirit of Niamey". Under this aegis the two delegations did agree to an agenda for the negotiations starting in Addis on August 5 and they perhaps nudged closer to agreement on the question of relief supplies. On the less positive side were the same suspicions, the same tenacity on basic positions exhibited by both parties during these talks as have occurred before. Finally, it is still not completely clear when or whether at Addis Gowon and Ojukwu will come together at the negotiating table.

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TEXT OF RESOLUTION SPONSORED BY GHANA

"Considered the urgent need for supplies of food, medicine and clothing to be sent quickly to the affected areas the Consultative Committee of OAU

Recommends - - - The arrangement of the limited truce for the specific purpose of establishing a demilitarized zone in order to facilitate the transportation of essential [sic] all supplies of food, clothing and medical equipment to the civilian population in areas affected by the Nigerian civil war and that the extent of demilitarized zone should be determined with the agreement both parties.

2/ Requests. The Federal Government to guarantee air, land and sea colrid [sic] ..corridor through Federal controlled territory for the purpose of carrying food, medicine, and clothing to the demilitarized zone. The representative, representatives or obe [sic] observers chosen by both sides in addition to representatives of relief organizations and agencies agreed to both parties to be permitted to remain in places acceptable both sides for the sole purpose of examining all consignments to remove ab [sic] any suspicious [sic] entertained by either sides.

3/ Recommends further that the demilitarized zone should be patrolled and maintained by an international police force including neutral observers acceptable by both parties.

4/ Appeals all member states of the OAU especially states neighboring to Nigeria offer suitable staging facilities in their territories to enable these supplies to be ferried to the demilitarized zone at the expense of the consigners. In this regard, the Governments of Cameroun and Ghana already off [sic] agreed to be offer facilities in their territories.

5/ Thanks those governments and organizations for their sympathetic attitude and assistance toward relieving the suffering of the civilian and [word crossed out] appeals to these and other organizations and governments to continue their humanitarian support.

6/ Decides that these proposals shall be public.

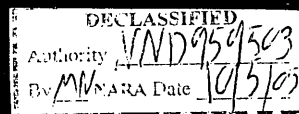
''' The Committee

'' Urgently invites both parties to do everything possible to resume the negotiations as soon as possible in order to achieve a peaceful solution of the crisis prevailing in their country with the objective of preserving Nigeria's territorial inter [sic] integrity and so to guarantee the security of all its inhabitants.

''' Decides that the OAU Consultative Committee will remain at their disposal to help them in this direction. The Consultative Committee will remain in contact with the Federal Government of Nigeria. Colonel Ojukwu or his accredited representatives may at any time contact any of the member governments of the OAU Consultative Committee".

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RESOLUTION

The Organization of African Unity Consultative Committee on Nigeria meeting in Niamey on 18th July, 1968.

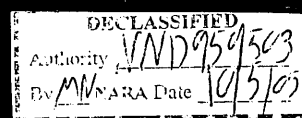
1. HAVING REVIEWED the present developments in the Nigerian civil war,
2. DEEPLY CONCERNED about sufferings of civilians on both sides,
3. CONSIDERING the urgent need for supplies of food, medicine and clothing to be sent quickly to the affected areas,
4. CONSIDERING FURTHER the efforts made by various Governments and institutions to convey into the affected areas badly needed supplies of food, medicine, and clothing,
5. CONFIDENT that these Governments and institutions will continue to give assistance to the affected areas,
6. MINDFUL of its mandate from the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Kinshasa,
7. TAKING NOTE of the decision by the Nigerian Federal Military Government to establish a corridor in the territory it controls to enable the despatch of food, medical, and clothing supplies to the affected regions; as well as of its decision to guarantee the security of members of international relief organizations entrusted with the task of transporting and distributing these supplies;

I - REQUESTS the Federal Military Government to implement without delay its decision to establish a "mercy" corridor with appropriate collecting points to facilitate the transportation of essential food and medical supplies to the affected areas; to guarantee the safety and freedom of movement of the agents of international relief organizations within Federal controlled territory so as to ensure the effective distribution of these supplies to the needy civilian population in the affected areas; and also to guarantee the safety and security of observers and representatives of international relief agencies who shall inspect supplies at such collecting points;

II - APPEALS to the secessionists to co-operate by accepting relief supplies of food, medicine and clothing transported through the "mercy" corridor to the collecting points and to provide facilities to ensure the safety and free movement of the personnel of the international relief agencies and guarantee effective distribution to the needy civilian population in the territory under their control;

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III - THANKS those Governments and organizations which have so far given assistance for their sympathy and generosity in relieving the sufferings of the civilian population and appeals to these and other Governments and organizations to assure the continuation of this humanitarian support;

IV - URGENTLY appeals to all Member States of the Organization of African Unity to assist in this massive humanitarian relief effort;

V - REQUESTS both parties, as a matter of urgency, to resume peace talks in order to achieve a final solution of the crisis prevailing in their country, with the objective of preserving Nigeria's territorial integrity and to guarantee the security of all its inhabitants; the Organization of African Unity Consultative Committee on Nigeria expresses its gratification at the fact that the two parties have each agreed to resume peace talks under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity Consultative Committee as soon as possible;

VI - DECIDES that the Organization of African Unity Consultative Committee shall remain at the disposal of both parties to help them in this direction. The Consultative Committee will remain in contact with the Federal Government of Nigeria. Colonel Ojukwu or his accredited representatives may at any time contact any of the Member Governments of the Organization of African Unity Consultative Committee.

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Enclosure 3

SPECIAL COMMUNIQUE

The Organization of African Unity Consultative Committee on Nigeria announces with great satisfaction the following important decisions:

I. The Federal Military Government and Colonel OJUKWU have each agreed to initiate forthwith preliminary talks at Niamey under the Chairmanship of President HAMANI DIORI with a view to the rapid resumption of negotiations for peace in Nigeria.

II. The Federal Military Government and Colonel OJUKWU have each agreed to resume peace negotiations in Addis Ababa as soon as possible under the auspices of the O.A.U. Consultative Committee on Nigeria.

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Enclosure No. 4
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Diiori Press Conference of July 20, 1968

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

I would like first of all to read to you the final communique. Yesterday, at the end of our meeting, we entitled it "Special Communique" so as to underline its importance. Thus I would like you to consider it as the Final Communique which reads as follows:-

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

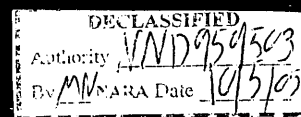
The Organization of African Unity Consultative Committee on Nigeria announces with great satisfaction the following important decisions:

1. The Federal Military Government and Colonel OJUKWU have each agreed to initiate forthwith preliminary talks at Niamey under the Chairmanship of President HAMANI DIORI with a view to the rapid resumption of negotiations for peace in Nigeria.
2. The Federal Military Government and Colonel OJUKWU have each agreed to resume peace negotiations in Addis Ababa as soon as possible under the auspices of the O.A.U. Consultative Committee on Nigeria.

I have been authorized by His Imperial Majesty HAILE SELASSIE I, Chairman of the Special Committee of the O.A.U. on Nigeria to inform you that this communique is binding on both sides. We have first of all given audience to General GOWON and the delegation of the Federal Government which came to acquaint us with the viewpoint of the Federal Military Government. We also had the opportunity to listen to Colonel OJUKWU who came to give the same Committee an expose of his own position. Consequently, the new task entrusted to me is to bring together the representatives of the two sides, each one elaborating his own case before me and I shall try on behalf of the Committee to reconcile the two viewpoints. I can say that in all sincerity that the two antagonists have manifested a sincere desire for peace, a desire which no one can contest either on the side of General GOWON or on that of Colonel OJUKWU. I can also say that we consider that this Final Communique is a mark of success to the O.A.U. and an achievement for Africa. It is therefore for the sake of the happiness and honour of Africa that we shall ask the two sides to make sacrifice likely to lead to peace, a peace we are seeking for that country unfortunately divided by the worst of wars namely, a fratricidal war. We are convinced that a solution of reconciliation, a solution of unity can ensure the rebirth of this great ensemble which we need so much. Peace in

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Nigeria is a necessity not only for that great country but it is also a necessity for Africa and the world; and it is not on us to remind you, men of the press, how much world opinion is concerned about such a peace. Among the several steps I have to take is first of all to find an immediate solution to the humanitarian aspect of the issue.

Concrete proposals have been made by the representatives of the Federal Government as well as by those of Colonel Ojukwu on the best ways to ensure transportation of food, medicine, clothings and equipment to all the regions affected by the consequences of the war. They will also reconsider those concrete proposals. We shall endeavour to reconcile their viewpoints. As regards the long-term solution which is the restoration of peace we shall also try to reconcile various viewpoints and I can reiterate that we are under the impression that there is a sincere desire for peace as regards the Federal Government as well as Colonel Ojukwu.

Thank you Gentlemen.

Such is the statement I have been authorized to make.

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BBC Mangold Interview in English with President Diori *
July 20, 1968

Interrogator: Mr. President, how satisfied are you with the result of the OAU meeting?

President: I am very happy of the result of the OAU meeting because after the report delivered by General Gowon and the statement delivered by Colonel Ojukwu I am confident that both sides are real willing for a peaceful settlement of the problem that Nigeria is causing and I think this is very important thing that both sides there is a feeling, a wish, for a settlement -- a peaceful settlement -- of the problem. That is the reason well for what I am grateful.

Interrogator: Has either side shifted in any major way its position on talks and on conditions for a cease fire?

President: The problem is you know that the Federal Government said before cease fire renunciation of secession and Colonel Ojukwu said secession before negotiation and our problem in the OAU Committee is how the cause of the two positions apparently differ. I think the middle position should be found if we try our best. His Imperial Majesty with all the members of the Committee to talk with the Federal Government and Ojukwu saying that this peaceful settlement of the Nigerian problem is our concern as is the concern of all human beings.

Interrogator: How did you manage to get both sides to agree to restart negotiations?

President: I think perhaps this afternoon or tomorrow I will call for both the Nigerian delegation and Colonel Ojukwu's delegation to have a talk in my office and ask them to manage the agenda and to start this question for the items in this agenda.

Interrogator: How would you describe Colonel Ojukwu's mood when he was here yesterday?

President: It is the first time I have an opportunity to meet Colonel Ojukwu. He delivered his report in a very slow voice and he is a man who has confidence of the right of his idea and of his feeling so that he deliver his speaking for more than an hour and I think his mood is like every African leader in the way committee defending his own position, his own report, and his own view and the problem that is conflict with. And so I think that Colonel Ojukwu is like we say in France "un bel orateur".

*(Text from tape of interview)

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Interrogator: What do you think are the chances of a cease fire within perhaps the next few days?

President: The next features for a cease fire is perhaps difficult to say but I think all the problem is about the unity and the integrity of the Nigeria. I will ask the two parties to consider unity as a base of discussion like we say in France and the background of this discussion we can improve the possibility to close out the position of both sides.

Interrogator: And what are the chances of relief supplies -- mercy supplies -- being sent into Biafra now? Are the chances any better now than they were 24 hours ago?

President: I think now from Lagos to Enugu and from Lagos to the front lines this is a very good way for the part of Nigeria controlled by the Federal Government we will try with the Federal Government to know how we can improve the supply -- the relief supply -- in the Calabar side, Port Harcourt, as Colonel Ojukwu demand the supply line on this side of the Nigerian territory.

Interrogator: Do you expect both leaders to go to Addis Ababa themselves or will they send other people there do you think?

President: I hope that in Addis Ababa we will call for the final settlement and for the final settlement it will certainly be very good for the two leaders to be present in Addis Ababa.

Interrogator: Finally, Mr. President, you have the look of a man who is very optimistic about everything. Would it be fair to assume this?

President: I am optimistic because the problem is all African concern and I take this opportunity to greet my brothers President Houphouet, President Bongo, President Nyerere, and President Kuanda. As for the reason that I am optimistic but those who recognize Biafra and those who support the federation are all Africans and as Africans we will try our best to find an African solution to an African problem.

Interrogator: Monsieur, le Président, thank you very much indeed.

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Enclosure #6

COMMUNIQUE No. 2

The Secretary General of the O.A.U. announces that the 2nd Session of the preliminary peace talks have resumed this morning at 9 a.m. and continued to 1 p.m. and have been devoted to:

1. the adoption of an agenda for peace negotiations; agenda which has been adopted in a definitive manner;
2. to the study of concrete proposals for conveying relief to the civilian victims of the war.

The meeting will resume tomorrow, Monday, at 4 p.m.

Niamey, 21st July, 1968

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Enclosure #7

FINAL COMMUNIQUE ON THE PRELIMINARY PEACE TALKS

I. Preliminary peace talks have been held in Niamey from 20th to 26th July, 1968, in accordance with the Final Communique released on 19th July, 1968 by the O.A.U. Consultative Committee on Nigeria.

II. At these talks the two sides have adopted the following agenda for peace negotiations to be held in Addis Ababa under the auspicious of the O.A.U. Consultative Committee.

Agenda

1. Arrangements for a permanent settlement.
2. Terms for cessation of hostilities.
3. Concrete proposals for the transportation of relief supplies to the civilian victims of the war.

III. The two sides have examined in minute detail proposals for the transportation of relief supplies to civilian victims of the war. Agreement has been reached on a number of points in this respect. The two sides have decided, nevertheless, to have further consultations for a speedy action and intend to give priority to practical steps on this humanitarian issue whose importance, seriousness and urgency have been acknowledged by all.

IV. Furthermore, the two sides have agreed on detailed procedure to be adopted at the peace negotiations.

V. Finally, it has been unanimously agreed that peace negotiations be convened in Addis Ababa on or before 5th August, 1968.

Niamey, 26th July, 1968

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Niamey A-134
Enclosure #8

PRINCIPAL BIAFRAN DELEGATION MEMBERS

Consultative Committee Meeting

Colonel Ojukwu
Dr. Azikiwe, former president of the Federal Republic of Niger
Ifegwu Eke, Commissioner of Information
Pierre Rouley, Gabonese Minister of Information
Chef de Cabinet of Houphouet Boigny

Preliminary Talks

Eni Njoku, Former Rector of the University of Nigeria at Nsukka
(Chief of Delegation, Member of Subcommittee)
Ifegwu Eke, Commissioner of Information
Bassey Ndem, Commissioner of Agriculture
Udo Affia, Commissioner of Health (Member of Subcommittee)
Kojbara, Biafran Representative at London
Christofer Mojekwu, Minister of Interior
Okechokwu Mezu, Interpreter and Senior Advisor
Chediel Yohane Mgonja, Tanzanian Secretary of State for Foreign
Affairs.

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PRINCIPAL NIGERIAN DELEGATION MEMBERS

Consultative Committee Meeting

Obafemi Awolowo, Vice President of the Executive Council and Federal
Commissioner of Finance (Chief of Delegation)

Audu Bako, Military Government of Kano State

T. O. Elias, Attorney General and Commissioner for Justice

A. A. Baba-Gana, Permanent Secretary for Ministry of External Affairs

Q. A. Ayida, Permanent Secretary for Economic Development

A. Joda, Permanent Secretary for Information

Emo Sanu, Ambassador to Ethiopia

Amadou Rufai, Chargé d'Affaires to Niger

Isa Modibo, former Chargé d'Affaires to Niger

Preliminary Talks

Alison Ayida, Permanent Secretary for Economic Development (Chief of
Delegation from July 20-21. Member of Sub-Committee.)

Femi Okunu, Commissioner of Public Works (Chief of Delegation from
July 22-26. Member of Sub-Committee.)

Timothy Omo Bare, Commissioner of Rehabilitation

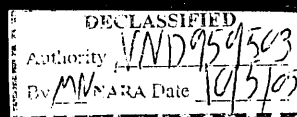
Colonel I. D. Bisalla, Military Secretary

Amadou Rufai, Chargé d'Affaires to Niger

Isa Modibo, former Chargé d'Affaires to Niger

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Niamey A-134
Enclosure # 10

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS FOR CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Sunday, July 14: Arrival of Ahidjo and Cameroun delegation

Monday, July 15: Arrival of Tubman, Ankrah and Haile Selassie and
respective delegations
Arrival of Nigerian delegation led by Awolowo
Arrival of Congo delegation led by Uba di Letete
Work session from 2010 to 2215

Tuesday, July 16: Arrival of General Gowon in morning
Committee meeting at 1200. General Gowon's statement
Four hour Committee Meeting in afternoon without Gowon
Communique inviting Biafrans
Departure of Gowon at 1800

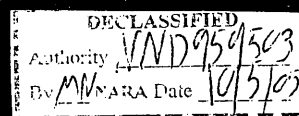
Wednesday, July 17: Return of Gowon in morning
Diori receipt of news of Biafran acceptance
Meeting from 1100 to 1530. Creation of Niger/Cameroun/
Ghana subcommittee on relief supplies
Meeting from 1700 to 2300
Departure of Gowon at 2330

Thursday, July 18: Arrival in morning of Algerian Foreign Minister Abdel
Aziz Bouteflika with message for OAU chiefs; de-
parture in evening.
Morning meeting
Departure of Ahidjo in afternoon
Departure of Congolese delegation in afternoon
Departure of Awolowo and part of Nigerian delegation
in evening
Arrival of Biafran delegate at 1930

Friday, July 19: Arrival of Ojukwu at 1400
One and half hour meeting of Ojukwu with committee

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Friday, July 19: (continued)

Issuance of Committee Resolution and Special (Final)
Communique late afternoon.

Departure of Ojukwu around 1930

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CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS FOR PRELIMINARY TALKS

Saturday, July 20: Departure of Ankrah and Haile Selassie
Diori press conference
First session in afternoon. Attended by two delegations,
Telli
Reported departure of Ojukwu from Abidjan in afternoon

Sunday, July 21: Second session in morning. Communique announcing adoption
of agenda and the examination of relief supplies question
Arrival of Tanzanian SecState to assist Biafran delegation
Return of Nigerian delegate Ayida to Lagos
Departure of Tubman

Monday, July 22: Third session in afternoon. Nigerian delegation reinforced
by new arrivals and return of Ayida
Announcement that Ojukwu back in Biafra

Tuesday, July 23: Fourth session in morning
Departure of Biafran delegate Eke
Fifth session in afternoon. Beginning of Sub-Committee

Wednesday, July 24: Sub-Committee meeting in morning
Departure of Omo Bare for Lagos
Sub-Committee meeting in afternoon

Thursday, July 25: Sub-Committee meeting in morning
Return of Biafran delegate Eke
Plenary session in evening

Friday, July 26: Plenary session in morning
Final communique at 1730

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LONDON PASS COMMONWEALTH OFFICE.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM DIORI TO OTHER
MEMBERS OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE WHICH WE HAVE JUST TRANSMITTED:

BEGIN TEXT:

RESPECTFUL ANNOUNCE PRELIMINARY PEACE TALKS ON NIGERIA
ENDED WITH FOLLOWING MAJOR CONCLUSIONS:

OPENING NEGOTIATIONS IN ADDIS ABABA LATEST 5TH AUGUST 1968
WITH FOLLOWING AGENDA:

1. ARRANGEMENTS FOR PERMANENT SETTLEMENT
2. TERMS FOR CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES
3. TRANSPORTATION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF THE WAR.

BOTH SIDES HAVE AGREED TO GIVE TOP PRIORITY TO HUMANITARIAN
ASPECT AND ALLAY SUFFERINGS AND REACHED UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT
ON PROCEDURE FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN ADDIS.

FROM EXPERIENCE AT PRELIMINARY TALKS HUMBLLY SUGGEST LEAVE
EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE TO CONDUCT ALONE NEGOTIATIONS
AND SUMMON CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ONLY IF NECESSARY WITH
PRIOR NECESSARY CONSULTATIONS.

HIGH AND FRATERNAL CONSIDERATION

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DIORI HAMANI

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ADDIS PASS BRITISH EMBASSY LONDON PASS FONOFF

REF: ADDIS 4850 — POL 3 OAU

FROM MCMULLEN

1. MANY THANKS USEFUL INFORMATION BUT THIS IS SMALL FISHBOWL IN WHICH NON-RESIDENT BRITISH DIPLOMAT RATHER CONSPICUOUS AND COULD NOT RPT NOT APPARACHI OAU SECRETARIAT MEMBERS DISCREETLY.

2. IN ORDER TO AVOID SUSPICION THAT HMG IS MEDDLING, WHICH SUSPICION US AMB AND MYSELF FEEL MIGHT BE HARMFUL IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW BIAFRAN CHARGES THAT BRITAIN WANTS TO SEE TALKS FAIL I HAVE BEEN OSTENTATIOUSLY KEEPING AWAY FROM PALACE EXCEPT WHEN SUMMONED TWICE BY DIORI.

3. EVEN THESE VISITS WERE POINTEDLY COMMENTED ON BY FEDERAL DELEGATION LAST NIGHT WHEN I MET THEM ACCIDENTALLY IN HOTEL BAR AND HAD TO EXPLAIN DIORI ENLISTING MY HELP IN ATTEMPTING TO PERSUADE BRITISH JOURNALISTS BEHAVE RESPONSIBLY AND TO EXPEDITE COMMUNICATIONS VIA LONDON.

4. THERE HAS BEEN NO RPT NO SOCIAL MIXING OF DIPLOMATS WITH DELEGATIONS AND, SO FAR AS WE KNOW, LAST NIGHT'S SORTIE BY FEDERAL DELEGATES WAS FIRST TIME EITHER DELEGATION HAD BEEN SEEN OUTSIDE PALACE OR GUARDED VILLAS. GP-3. RYAN

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